

PROPERTY OF
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
RECEIVED OCT 23 1934

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. —James Monroe



VOLUME IV, NUMBER 8

WASHINGTON, D. C.

OCTOBER 22, 1934

Conservative Point of View Interpreted

Herbert Hoover and Other Conservatives Set Forth Philosophy in Recent Writings

ALL OPPOSE PRESENT POLICIES

Believe Economic System Sound and Capable of Regulating Itself

This is the first of a series of three articles explaining as many different points of view relative to the economic and political situation. This week we present views which represent a large body of conservative opinion. In the next article we shall describe a body of opinion which may be regarded as liberal, and the final article will explain a more radical point of view. The views expressed in these articles are not to be taken as the opinions of the editors of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER. We are merely reporting states of opinion which are to be observed in present-day America. This week we explain some of the representative conservative beliefs without either endorsing or denying them.

The American people are never united and harmonious in their opinions as to the course the government should follow. Opinion is never completely harmonious in any country at any time. The conflicts are likely to be more pronounced, however, in a time of national crisis, and the differences in point of view are likely to be sharper. The situation is critical at present and the future is more or less uncertain. It is natural then that sharply contrasting bodies of opinion should develop relative to the program our government should adopt in its effort to get us out of the depression. There are, as a matter of fact, very many different opinions as to what policies we should adopt—almost as many opinions as there are individuals in the nation. But for purposes of description all these different ideas and opinions can be roughly classed into three divisions or groups. One of these bodies of opinion may be termed conservative. At the opposite side there is the radical point of view, and between these two there is a body of opinion which we may call liberal or progressive. This week we shall explain the ideas of the conservatives.

As Conservatives See America

First, let us see what the conservative notion is about the American political and economic system—about our fundamental laws and business habits. If you ask a typical conservative what he thinks of the way things are done in America, his answer will probably be something like this:

"Taken by and large, conditions in America have been quite satisfactory. Business and government are carried on in such a way here that most people, most of the time, have a chance to live well and to improve their manner of living. Opportunities are relatively equal. People who are competent and who work hard can succeed as a usual thing. It is easier here than anywhere else for one to get along easily and acquire fortunes. There are times like the present when opportunities are denied, when people cannot find work, when there is hunger and despair throughout the land, but these times are exceptional and soon pass by, giving way to eras of prosperity. There are faults and injustices in industry.

(Concluded on page 6)



© Ewing Galloway

FAR REMOVED FROM THE MECHANIZED AGE

Out of the Primitive

Have you ever stopped to reflect upon the swiftness of the current which has transformed and is transforming our manner of living? Men and women who are by no means old remember when moving pictures came in. They recall the time when automobiles had not yet made their appearance, when the phonograph was a crude, new-fangled invention, when there were no airplanes, no radios; when refrigerators were practically unknown, when the telephone was a novelty and homes were without the benefit of the electrical devices which now add so much to our comfort and convenience.

All this has come in a period so brief that it seems but a moment of time, when considered in relation to the long centuries of recorded and unrecorded history. It is only in the very recent stages of human experience that we have moved out of the primitive way of life. The simple form of existence pictured on this page was the lot of man during the greater part of his time upon the earth. His nervous system is suited to that sort of existence. It has not changed since he came to live in the clamorous, complex environment which we call modern civilization.

That is why we so often feel the sense of strain. It accounts for our irritation at the restraints imposed upon us by our machine age duties; why we long, especially during these autumn days when the woods are flashing their brilliant hues and the very air is a tonic in its bracing freshness, for the free outdoors; for a loosening of the ties which hold us to the drudgery of a machine age against which our nerves sometimes rebel. But rebellious though we may be, idealistically as we sometimes long for "the good old days," those old days, which, by the way, were not so good in all their features as we may suppose, will not come back. The machine age, with its regimentation and its disciplines, is here to stay. What, then, can we do about it?

We can soften these imperative disciplines by periods of relaxation when we rest our overwrought nerves by the vicarious visits to "the good old days." We should maintain islands of primitive enjoyment in the sea of modern duties. We should play; we should have our hobbies. So far as possible we should find individual forms of sport, recreation, entertainment. We should realize, however, that we must organize and work together in order to bring the opportunities of play life to all. This means community-supported recreation on a scale never hitherto known. It means better support for libraries. It means hiking clubs and youth movements and shelters for hikers such as those which have become so popular in Europe. It means increasing attention to individual and social provisions for leisure time.

Alexander's Murder Causes Grave Crisis

Double Slaying in Marseilles Upsets Political Balance Throughout European Continent

YUGOSLAV POLITICS UNCERTAIN

Relations With Italy Strained. Barthou Planned to Effect Reconciliation

The political foundations of Europe have again been shaken to their very base by the double tragedy which occurred at Marseilles, October 9. As news of the assassination of King Alexander I of Yugoslavia and French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou flashed over Europe, an entire continent became anxious and uneasy. Too many international conflicts have been set off by just such an incident, and the memory of the World War was too fresh in the minds of most Europeans to permit calm and easiness.

It will be some time before the fog of mystery which now envelops the Marseilles incident is completely dissipated and one is able clearly to see the full meaning of the tragedy. About all that is known at the moment is that King Alexander had just arrived in France to confer with Barthou and other French government officials when the two men were suddenly shot down in the Mediterranean seaport. The assassin was a Croat, a native of the very country over which Alexander ruled with an iron hand. It is believed, of course, that he had accomplices. It is even rumored—although without much evidence—that the plot to take the king's life was instigated outside Yugoslavia and fanned by a foreign government. The Balkans have always been such a hotbed of political intrigue that it would indeed be an exception if the present crime were not more than the impetuous act of a fanatic.

Ruler in Constant Danger

Few Balkan rulers die in their beds, and it was hardly likely that Alexander would break the rule by ending his days with a natural death. Plots against his life had been numerous in the past, and it was no secret that hostile groups at home as well as abroad were seeking to bring about his destruction. Enemies of the Yugoslav monarch were at work in Hungary and Germany and Italy, trying to cause his downfall. And at home many of his political foes were constantly at work against him. On five previous occasions attempts were made on his life, the last one only two years ago. Having a royal guard of some 40,000 men, commanded by General Zivkovich, a seasoned master in the art of political intrigue, it was ironical that the Yugoslav dictator should meet his death when he put his feet on foreign soil.

But why, we may ask, does Alexander's death affect so vitally the whole of Europe? In order to answer that question, we must turn to conditions both inside Yugoslavia and among the neighbors of that kingdom. The consequences of the Marseilles episode are twofold, affecting profoundly the internal politics of Yugoslavia and the relations of Yugoslavia with the other countries of Europe, especially France, Italy and the Balkan countries.

(Concluded on page 7)

Notes From the News

A. F. of L. Changes Tactics; Mrs. Roosevelt and the Campaign; Supreme Court's New Home; Arthurdale Makes Progress; Blue Eagles Fly Back Home

THE American Federation of Labor convention in San Francisco adjourned last week after a fairly calm session. Those who predicted that the rank and file would cause trouble for their more conservative leaders at the convention guessed wrong. The meetings were orderly throughout.

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, an affiliate of the A. F. of L., won a long-fought victory at the convention. For several years he has urged the A. F. of L. to encourage the formation of industrial unions, that is, unions which bring together all workers in an industry regardless of the type of work they perform. The United Mine Workers, which Mr. Lewis heads, is an example of this type of union. In the past, the A. F. of L. has worked hard to organize skilled workers into craft unions. But unskilled workers are not craftsmen, so it has been difficult for them to join the Federation. The A. F. of L. has been criticized a great deal during the last several years because it has not taken more of an interest in unskilled workers. So

it was decided at the recent convention that in the future the Federation would encourage both types of unions—craft and industrial. By making this change in policy, many believe that the A. F. of L. will be better able to lead the labor movement in this country.

© U. & U.

JOHN L. LEWIS

The decision of the A. F. of L. to urge the next session of Congress to enact legislation for a 30-hour week in industry has met with widespread disapproval both among business men and economists. They feel that industry cannot at present afford to pay workers the same wages for a 30-hour week as it does for a 40-hour week. The A. F. of L. leaders declare, however, that hours must be shortened in order that industry may absorb the unemployed.

Mrs. Roosevelt to Take Stump In Congressional Campaign

Mrs. Roosevelt, who already has to her credit no small number of shattered precedents, will break another one before election day. The wife of the president announced last week that she would enter the campaign on behalf of her friend, Mrs. Daniel O'Day, of New York, who is running for congresswoman-at-large on the Democratic ticket. Mrs. Roosevelt will make five campaign speeches. In taking the stump she is setting aside all precedents, for the wife of the president, more than the president himself, generally remains aloof from congressional campaigns. She admitted that her course was unusual, but said that she was doing it because Mrs. O'Day "represents in herself the real reason that most women go into politics—that is, in order to achieve changes in our social organization which they feel can be reached only through government."

Hutchins Likely Chairman of Labor Relations Board

As we go to press the president has not appointed a successor to Dr. Lloyd Garrison, who recently resigned as chairman of the National Labor Relations Board to take up his duties as dean of the law school of the University of Wisconsin. It was expected, however, that President Roosevelt would appoint Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, to the position. Dr. Hutchins conferred with the president for nearly an hour last week supposedly on his appointment to the labor board.

Since his appointment as president of the University of Chicago in 1929, the youngest man ever to be appointed head of a large university, Mr. Hutchins has been almost constantly in the national limelight for his experiments in educational methods. He immediately set about scrapping traditional methods and installed his own system. For years, he has been keenly inter-

ested in politics, having proposed a far-reaching program of national reform just prior to the last presidential election. Of late, he has been anxious to play an active part and, should he be appointed to the labor board, he will receive a year's leave of absence from the Chicago institution.

Supreme Court to Occupy New Building in Spring

Once more the United States Supreme Court is in session. Early this month, the nine august justices took up their annual labors in the historic chamber in the Capitol. For the next few months their deliberations will be closely watched for this session of the court is extremely important. It will have to pass judgment upon the New Deal; to decide whether certain measures of the Roosevelt recovery program are constitutional. Seldom, if ever, before has the Supreme Court been faced with such gigantic national issues.

Before the present session adjourns, it is expected that the court will move into its new quarters—an imposing edifice located near the Capitol which is now nearing completion. The need for such a building has long been felt, for the court has been laboring under difficulties in the small room it now occupies. Its present quarters served, in the days of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, as the meeting place of the United States Senate.

From New York to Shanghai in Six Days Is Aviation's Goal

From New York City to Shanghai in six days is the promise now made by aviation. This information was made public last week by Postmaster General James A. Farley, who disclosed that Pan-American Airways, now operating air lines throughout South America and in China, was planning to inaugurate a transpacific service. It will be "only a matter of months," spokesmen of the company declared. The route to be taken by the planes, once the service is begun, is expected to be from California to Hawaii, thence to Guam or Midway Islands, to Manila and then on to the Chinese metropolis.

Stranded Families Demand Residence in Arthurdale

Out in the coal-mining district of West Virginia, where there are thousands of stranded families, the federal government is going rapidly forward with its first subsistence homesteads development. Fifty families have already moved into Arthurdale, a project begun about a year ago. Thirty more applications have been approved, but the families cannot yet move into their new quarters for the simple reason that there are no quarters to move into.

There is a wild scramble among the poverty-stricken inhabitants of the surrounding country to get into the new town. A total of 1,500 families are doing their utmost to be accepted as citizens of Arthurdale. Of course, only a small fraction of them will be accommodated, for the settlement will have only 200 houses when it is completed. At present, there is no industry in the town, but those in charge of this feature of the government's relief pro-



—Courtesy American Locomotive Co.

THE STEAM LOCOMOTIVE OF THE FUTURE
As the American Locomotive Company conceives it. It may not look exactly like this, but it will not be anything like the iron horse of the present.

gram are hoping that one or more industries will decide to locate there in order to provide at least part-time employment to the inhabitants.

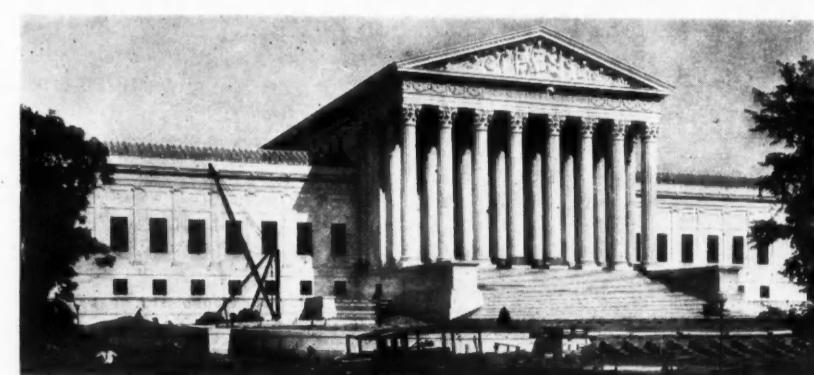
Before being accepted into the settlement, a family must sign a purchase contract after which it receives a new house of five or six rooms, five acres of fertile soil on which it can produce practically all its food. The house is well equipped with modern plumbing, a hot-air furnace, and supplied with adequate furniture. For this the families pay to the government about \$20 a month. After 20 or 30 years the house and land will become the property of the occupants.

New York Garages Turn in Blue Eagles to Government

A chain of 200 garages, all belonging to the Upper Manhattan Garage Owners Association of New York City, have returned their blue eagles. The garage owners took this action on the eve of returning their employees to a 72-hour-week schedule. A spokesman for the organization declared that they were all willing to coöperate with the federal government in its recovery program but that they had received no co-operation whatever from the municipal government and that, as a result, their business was being ruined. "In taking this action," he declared, "we are not trying to combat labor or the recovery program, but we feel we can no longer carry the burden. If we had received proper coöperation we could have been in a position to continue with the shorter hours and also possibly employ additional men, whereas under present conditions more of our employees will be forced out of employment and thrown into the lap of the relief bureaus."

Fast Railroad Service Spans American Continent

A transcontinental railway service will be inaugurated this month on a schedule which cuts 24 hours from the regular time. The six-car, streamlined passenger train will be operated between Los Angeles and New York on a record-breaking run of 62 hours. The present record was made by the late E. H. Harriman when he dashed from New York to San Francisco in 71 hours in 1906. The Union Pacific Railroad is making test runs on its main line west of Cheyenne before establishing the service.



THE NEW UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT BUILDING
This imposing structure, located near the Capitol, will be ready for occupancy in the spring.

© Harris & Ewing

The Governmental Record

The President: Believes that prices should be higher than they are now. A statement to that effect, made at a press conference, started rumors that the administration was again considering currency inflation, but this was emphatically denied in official circles. The president also emphasized the fact that the administration firmly believes wages should keep pace with rises in prices, both being necessary steps toward recovery.

Archivist of the United States: Is a new position which was created at the last session of Congress. The first one will be Robert D. W. Connor, professor of American History at the University of North Carolina, just appointed by President Roosevelt. The Federal Archives Building, on Pennsylvania avenue in Washington, is nearly completed and will be in use early in 1935. In this building will be kept the official records and historical documents of the government.

Federal Emergency Relief Administration: Purchased a million acres of so-called "submarginal" farm land which is so poor in fertility that it cannot be used profitably for farming. Families who formerly occupied this land are being moved away, and it will be turned into parks, forests, game preserves and Indian reservations.

Postmaster General: Farley believes the government is paying out too much money on ocean mail contracts. He plans to recommend to President Roosevelt either a reduction in the contracts or a substitution of lower direct subsidies. The president, who was given authority by the last Congress to take such a step, favors the direct subsidies because under that method it is easier to see where the money goes.

Census Bureau: Reported that approximately half the people in the United States live in cities while the remainder live on farms. Of the foreign-born white families in this country four times as many live in cities as on farms. About as many families own their own homes as rent homes from others, according to the report.

Civilian Conservation Corps: Has instituted a new system of education in the camps. The courses are planned by the instructors with the students, and no one bothers about grades, credits or hours. Teaching is being supervised by the United States Office of Education. The program which has been set up is designed to return the CCC boys to the normal world when the present emergency is over, and the attempt is being made to teach them the things in which they are most interested. The theoretical round-table discussions are supplemented with practical work whenever possible; journalism classes publish newspapers, and classes in agriculture and soils have gardens.

Federal Communications Commission: Ruled in two cases that before licenses for new radio stations will be granted the applicants must demonstrate that they will serve a definite public interest. The commission finished hearings on the subject of how much time the broadcasting stations should be required to devote to non-commercial programs on which they will make no profit. A recommendation must be made to Congress before February 1, 1935.

Federal Aviation Commission: Continued hearings on which its recommendations to Congress for a permanent air policy will be based. Most witnesses so far favor unified federal control but differ as to the exact powers which should be conferred on a permanent federal agency.

AROUND THE WORLD

Germany: What threatens to become a major schism in the Protestant churches is developing throughout Germany. Already, on several occasions, many pastors and church members have protested against the Nazi church administration, headed by Hitler's religious dictator, Ludwig Mueller. These earlier manifestations of opposition to domination of the churches have been mild in comparison with the demonstration staged in Bavaria during the first half of this month. Following the arrest of Hans Meisser, Protestant bishop of Bavaria, for disobedience to decrees of the central authority, large crowds of Protestants paraded through the streets, ending up at the Brown House, national headquarters of the Nazi party, where they jeered Hitler and his church policy.

This episode, an indication of the deep-seated resentment among a strong body of church members, was but a prelude to a more serious manifestation which occurred October 14. From scores of pulpits, a manifesto, prepared by the deposed and arrested Bishop Meisser, was read to overflowing audiences. The manifesto charged that Mueller and his assistant, August Jaeger, were waging a war led by "dark powers" against the freedom of religion and conscience. "The faith of the churches has been destroyed and the doors have been opened for every heresy that unites with these powers," read the manifesto. It continued by calling "upon our pastors and communities to render no obedience to this church government which is contrary to the faith and the constitution. We know well that therewith we impose a heavy burden upon them, but we would like to know they are safeguarded from the reproach that their faith has been a lie."

Thus the lines for a stiff battle have been drawn. Hitler and his aides appear determined to go through with their program of bringing all Germans under a single national church. The first step in this plan called for the unification of all Protestants under the administration of Reichsbishop Mueller. But even that preliminary step has met almost unsurmountable obstacles. Needless to say, the Nazis will have to subdue the Protestants before they can hope to bring Catholics into a "German church free from Rome," the goal set by Mueller and his religious administration.

* * *

Great Britain: There can be little doubt that England's recovery, which has drawn unusual attention in this country during the last month or so, is due in large part to a building boom. New houses and factories seem to have sprung up everywhere. Last year, more than a quarter of a million new houses were built, and this year it is expected that the number will surpass the 300,000 mark. Most of this building has been done by private construction companies. The government's slum clearance program is not expected to get fully under way until next year. Although no one will venture a guess as to the number of new houses that will be constructed then, certainly it will go beyond anything the country has yet known.

This building boom has not, of course, come out of a clear sky. There has been a serious housing shortage in Great Britain ever since the war. More than 2,000,000 new houses have been built since 1918 and yet the country has not come near to meeting the demand. In 1931, according to reliable statistics, there were in Britain 2,640,000 persons living more than two in a room.

* * *

India: Madeleine Slade was formerly an English society girl whose principal interests in life were fox hunting, social teas,

art and music. Today she is lecturing in the United States, dressed in homespun clothing, a man's coat and cheap Indian sandals. The cause of the transformation was the mystic Mahatma Gandhi, who so affected Miss Slade by his selfless devotion to the welfare of India's millions that she turned her back on the society of her civilization and went to India to become Gandhi's principal attendant. And now she is in this country "to do her best to give Americans a clear conception of Gandhi and what he stands for."

A correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* recently interviewed Miss Slade in London and obtained this intimate picture of Gandhi from his conversation with her:

"If you want to understand Gandhiji," she said, (using the title by which he is known in India) "you must go with him when he walks on foot through the villages, talking to the people. You must be ready to rise with him between three and four o'clock each morning. You must be ready to eat breakfast with him—it consists of milk and fruit—and to watch beside him as he writes, writes, while two bullock wagons are loaded with the bedding and cooking utensils and sent ahead."

When Gandhi goes on the march he moves always in a great crowd of peasants. Peasants come from 10 or 15 miles to see and hear him, and not only do they line almost every inch of the way he is to go but they follow behind him so that dust rises like a cloud.

Gandhi is never alone. When a halt is called in a mango grove by the wayside, and while shallow trenches are dug for the boiling of the great pots of rice and lentils for the meal, he sits upon his bamboo platform and talks quietly and gently to his vast dark audience about the things he believes and wants them to believe.

"The peasants make no sound. Gandhiji asks them to be quiet, and there they sit and stand, thousands of them, listening. And they will not go away. Even when Gandhiji has his bath—two buckets filled with water and a brass dipping pot—we have terrible difficulty in keeping them from visiting him. Even when he sits in his small matting enclosure to write, they press upon him. Even when he tries to get his 30 minutes sleep before, at half past five, we go on the evening march, they find it hard to believe that he may want to be alone."



"I am here to tell of Mahatma Gandhi"

The correspondent goes on to say that "Madeleine Slade is responsible for all the personal wants of the day; for seeing that writing materials are at hand, that meals are prepared, that luggage is packed, that garments are washed and dried in the warm air." She was invited to the United States by the Reverend John Haynes Holmes, chairman of the American League for India's Freedom, and will give a series of lectures on Gandhi and India.

* * *

France: As was expected, the assassinations of King Alexander of Yugoslavia and French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou have thrown French politics into a state of confusion. The Doumergue cabinet, already on none too stable a foundation because of increasing opposition to its policies, came to the verge of collapse following the Marseilles tragedy. Not only did Doumergue lose one of his strongest cabinet members in Louis Barthou, but the incident was directly responsible for the resignation of two other members, Albert Sarraut, minister of the interior, and Henri Cheron, minister of justice. Thus it became necessary to do a great deal of overhauling of the entire cabinet.

M. Sarraut, as minister of the interior, was head of the French police, and was indirectly responsible for the Marseilles incident by not providing adequate police protection. Under these circumstances, it would have been virtually impossible for him to remain in the cabinet. M. Cheron had long been under heavy fire because he had failed to uncover a number of political scandals which have shocked all France during the last year.

Barthou's successor is Pierre Laval, former premier and long an important figure in French politics. Laval has a difficult task ahead, for his predecessor was an extremely able foreign minister.

France has lost another of her great statesmen in Raymond Poincaré, former president and premier, who died suddenly in Paris, October 15. Although he retired from public life in 1929, Poincaré enjoyed the distinction of having served his country longer than any other public figure. Fifty of his 74 years were devoted to politics. He became a member of the Chamber of Deputies when he was still in his twenties, and at the age of 34, he was appointed to an important cabinet post, minister of finances. In addition to his record as war president, Poincaré will be remembered for two things: It was he who made the decision in 1922 to send French soldiers into the Ruhr district of Germany when the Germans failed to meet their reparations payments promptly, and it was Poincaré who saved the French franc in 1926 when the country was faced with inflation and financial ruin.

* * *

Spain: It will be a long time before Spain will have cleaned up the mess of its recent uprising. Although the Socialists and other radical political parties have been completely subdued by the Spanish army, which throughout the rebellion remained



From a drawing by George Hartmann in "The Boiling Point," by H. R. Knickerbocker (Farrar & Rinehart).

loyal to the government, hatred is deeply imbedded in the hearts of the defeated revolutionaries. The final chapter of class warfare has not yet been written, and no one knows when the bitter antagonisms will again break out into open conflict.

In dealing with those who plotted to overthrow the government, the officials in power have indicated that they will pursue a fairly moderate course. They have given no evidence that they will follow the exhortation of the monarchists to punish the radicals severely and not to allow them "to die of old age in their beds." Rather it is expected they will attempt to heal the wounds of the threatened civil war by conciliatory measures, the while taking precautions to prevent the recurrence of this month's flare-up.

* * *

Hungary A new kind of strike for higher wages was staged last week by more than a thousand coal miners in the town of Pecs. These workers had entered into a mass suicide pact, threatening to exterminate themselves 1,000 feet below the earth's surface if their employer, the Danube Steam Navigation Company, partly owned by British interests, did not grant their demands for an increase of wages from \$2 to \$3.50 a week.

After the men had remained entombed for three days and three nights without food, light or sleep, the government became uneasy and Premier Gombos sent five labor leaders down into the mine to negotiate with the men. "Come up within 30 minutes," was the command given. "If you refrain from lawlessness and violence, we will negotiate with you." But these words failed to move the miners, who declared that they would not come up unless their demands for higher wages were granted in advance. In fact, they became so angry at the command, that they held the five men as hostages. Outside the mine, an atmosphere of dismay prevailed as wives of the striking miners fought police in an attempt to join their husbands. The determination of the strikers was such that mine officials were finally frightened into making the necessary promises to assure the abandonment of their mad design.

You and Your Community

By Clay Coss

THE cost of crime in the United States, according to recent estimates, amounts to between 12 and 17 billions of dollars a year—a sum far greater than all the war debts owed to the United States. This cost includes the upkeep of federal, state and local police agencies, prosecuting agencies, criminal courts and penal institutions. It also includes the losses due to criminal acts, such as murder, arson, theft, racketeering, fraudulent use of mails and embezzlement. Added to this, crime takes 12,000 lives a year. Underworld gangs carry on their sordid operations in all our larger communities. They often coöperate with gangs in other communities. The loot obtained through these unlawful and often viciously cruel operations enables the underworld to employ clever, unscrupulous attorneys. In some cases, they control public officials, giving them a free hand to carry on their corrupt and criminal practices. The problem has grown to such tremendous proportions that it amounts to something of a national crisis.

THE United States Department of Justice, feeling as it does that a relentless war must be waged against crime, has invited all the state governors, high state officials, police agents, and members of numerous organizations to attend a three-day national "crime conference" in Washington beginning December 10. Attorney General Cummings is anxious that this be more than just another conference. Not only does he want the problem to be discussed from every angle, but he desires the facts brought out at the conference to be widely publicized by the press, the schools, movies and by other means.

One thing fully realized by Attorney General Cummings is that crime is fundamentally a local problem. The national government can assist in dealing with crime, but if local law-enforcement agencies do not carry their end of the burden, failure is inevitable. Each community has its own set of crime problems. They are community problems and should be dealt with by community officials, in the opinion of Mr. Cummings. He points out that the police power of the federal government is limited by the Constitution and by the nature of the problem itself.

Of course this is not to say that the federal police power should not be expanded from time to time to meet changing conditions. Recent sessions of Congress have given federal police agents authority to track down kidnappers and other criminals who escape from local agents by fleeing from state to state, making it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, for local agents to follow their trail. Federal agents have met with almost perfect success in apprehending these criminals in the short time they have been at it.

In spite of this success, Mr. Cummings does not believe that the federal police power should be expanded much more, at least for the present. He feels that the intelligent way to combat crime is to foster a close coöperation among local, state and federal police agencies. Most authorities feel, however, that before this coöperation can become effective, action must be taken to strengthen or to rebuild completely our local police machinery. Here is what these authorities say:

THE American people must become convinced of the necessity of insisting upon adequate law-enforcement agencies. Most voters are indifferent to the type of officials they put in office. Sheriffs, constables and even prosecuting attorneys are often chosen for office when, as a matter of fact, they may have no qualifications whatsoever. Often, they have had no previous training or ex-

perience. How, then, can these persons be expected to perform their duties intelligently?

The same weakness exists in many of our police forces. In the attempt to operate these forces as cheaply as possible, men with practically no education are converted into policemen. In the majority of places, an officer is not required to go through any training course before he goes on duty. If citizens only knew it, they pay a great deal more for inefficient police forces than they would for an efficient organization.

A DIFFERENT situation prevails in the Department of Justice. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the Investigation Division of the Department of Justice, insists that each of his agents go through at least a six-month training period before he is entrusted with any task. Furthermore, Mr. Hoover employs only well-educated and highly intelligent persons as his agents. The results they have obtained so far speak for themselves.

Of course local police forces cannot be composed entirely of college graduates. But, most authorities contend, there should be minimum qualifications for every member of a police force, and a course of training should be given to each of them. Police work should be a highly respected profession, though unfortunately too often it is not. It cannot be denied that there are fearless, well-disciplined and intelligent police forces, the members of which discharge their duties faithfully and admirably. But there are too many of the opposite variety.

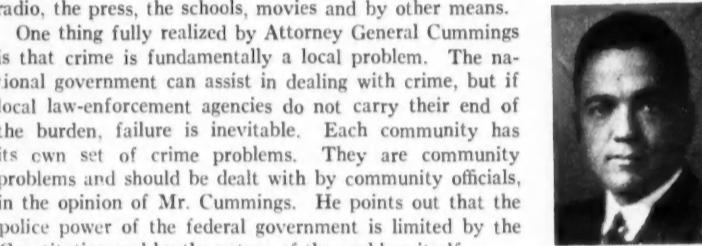
Another obstacle in the way of law enforcement is the extent to which states are divided into small political units. Say, for example, that a state has 75 counties. Each of these counties has a number of townships. All these tiny political units have their law-enforcement agencies, small as some of them are. In most states there is no coöordination of police work between the counties and townships. There are only a few state police forces. This makes it extremely difficult to follow the trail of a criminal from one part of the state to another. To do this involves coöperation of the various local agencies—coöperation which is often difficult to obtain. Therefore, many authorities believe that there must be a greater degree of coöordination, and possibly centralization, among the police agencies within each state. Political units, they think, should be enlarged.

These are only a few problems pertaining to crime which will be considered at the December conference in Washington. The question of bettering prison conditions will receive attention. So will the various causes of crime, such as broken homes, poverty, bad housing, child labor in street trades, poor community standards, unsatisfactory school life, unwholesome recreation, unemployment, physical and mental deficiency. The steps which should be taken to deal with unscrupulous lawyers, corrupt judiciary, outworn criminal law procedure, breakdown of law-enforcement agencies will also be thoroughly discussed.

Despite everything that is said and done at this conference, however, unless a large body of citizens in each community can be stimulated into thought and action relative to the problem of crime, not a great deal can be accomplished. In some localities, very effective work is being done in this respect. For instance, in Alameda County, California, there is a planned unity of all the township law-enforcement agencies and the county agency. Moreover, there is a working coöperation between the merchants in the county and the various police departments. They frequently meet together to discuss law-enforcement problems.

There are numerous organizations in the country which are studying the cause and prevention of crime and which are urging civic participation in dealing with the problem. Some of these are national and others are local. Those students interested in this problem should find out what organizations in their communities are working along this line and then assist them. One national organization which is doing a very effective piece of work is the General Federation of Women's Clubs, which has branches in every state, and a membership of about 2,000,000. It has published an excellent pamphlet on the problem of crime, containing a list of reference books for those who care to make a more exhaustive study. This pamphlet can be obtained by writing to the General Federation of Women's Clubs, 1734 N Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. The following quotation is taken from the pamphlet:

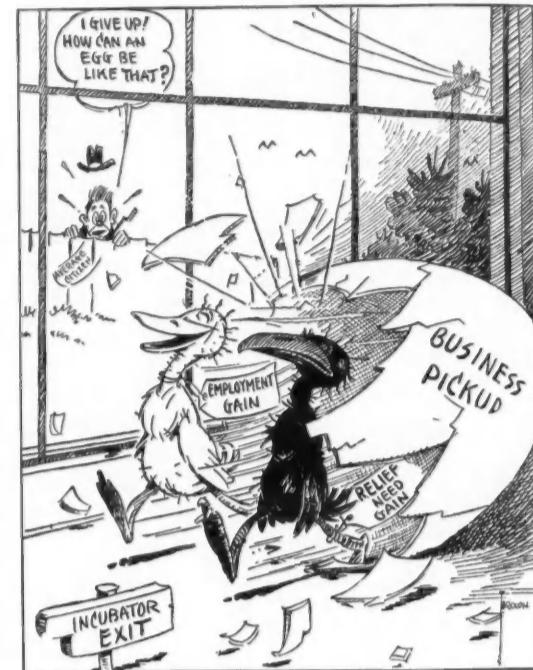
Upon every man and woman in the United States rests the responsibility for crime control. Hysteria will accomplish nothing, neither has sentimentality nor brutality any place in a rational program for crime control. An intelligent public opinion, which faces all the issues involved and lends whole-hearted support to constructive efforts, alone will rid this country of the scourge of crime.



© U. & U.
J. EDGAR
HOOVER



THE EAGLE ON ANOTHER JOB
—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis POST-DISPATCH



PAGE THE BRAIN TRUST
—Brown in N. Y. HERALD-TRIBUNE

Something to Think About

1. Have you thought of yourself as being a conservative or a liberal or a radical? Watch to see whether the articles on these divisions of opinion change your ideas and your own position.
2. After you have read the article on what the conservatives believe, make a list of some of your acquaintances whom you would call conservative.
3. "We should not try to bring about great changes in America; we should let well enough alone." Do you agree with that statement? Does it seem to you that conditions as a usual thing are "well enough" in America?
4. Do you think that American freedom or liberty is endangered by the New Deal program?
5. State clearly the difference between the conservative and the New Deal economic recovery methods.
6. Describe the recent foreign policy of Foreign Minister Barthou. Do you think his assassination will greatly affect the course of affairs in Europe?
7. Describe the nationality conflicts in Yugoslavia. What sort of a man was King Alexander? Do you think his assassination is a loss to the people of Yugoslavia? How may it affect foreign relations?
8. In the light of the discussion on this page, what do you think your community could do that it has not done to help check crime?
9. What can you as a citizen do to induce your community to adopt the right kind of anti-crime measures?
10. To what extent has the battle for religious freedom been won in the United States?
11. Which book mentioned on page 5 would you rather read?

REFERENCES: (a) Is America Ripe for Fascism? *Current History*, September, 1933, pp. 701-704. (b) Conservative Attitudes. *Commonweal*, April 13, 1934, pp. 652-654. (c) Individualism or Collectivism. *National Republic*, March, 1934, pp. 6-7. (d) The Royal Dictatorship in Yugoslavia. *Foreign Affairs*, July, 1929, pp. 600-615. (e) King Business in the Balkans. *Yale Review*, pp. 330-350. (f) King Alexander of Yugoslavia. *Contemporary Review*, February, 1934, pp. 210-218.

PRONUNCIATIONS: Zivkovich (zee'ko-veech), Ludwig Mueller (loot'veek mu'ler—u as in use), August Jaeger (ow'-goost yay'ger—ow as in how), Croat (kro'at—o as in go), Croatia (kro'ay'sha), Stefan Raditch (stay'fan ra'deech), Mar-sailes (mar-say'ya), Louis Barthou (loo'ee bar-too'), Bosnia (boz'nee-a), Herzegovina (hair-tsa-go'vee'na), Temesvar (tem'esh-var), Banat (bah-naht), Magyar (mag'yahr or mod'yor—o as in of), Belgrade (bel'grade), Dalmatia (dal-may'-sha), Hans Meissner (hans mi'ser—i as in ice, s as in sit), Briand (bree-on'), Poincaré (pwan-kah-ray—an as in answer), Gombos (gum'bush—both u's as in burn), Albert Sarraut (al-bair' sah-ro'o—o as in go), Henri Cheron (on-ree shay-ron'—first o as in on, second o as in go), Pierre Laval (pee-air la-val').

THE AMERICAN OBSERVER

A Weekly Review of Social Thought and Action

Published weekly throughout the year (except two issues in December) by the CIVIC EDUCATION SERVICE, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Subscription price, single copy, \$2 a calendar year. In clubs for class use, \$1 a school year or 50 cents a semester.

Entered as second-class matter Sept. 15, 1931, at the Post Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL BOARD

CHARLES A. BEARD HAROLD G. MOULTON
GEORGE S. COUNTS DAVID S. MUZZEY
WALTER E. MYER, *Editor*

PAUL D. MILLER, *Associate Editor*



Chief Justice — Chief Justice Charles E. Hughes holds a key position in the determination of governmental policy this year. He stands at the head of the Supreme Court, the tribunal which may

pass judgment on several features of the New Deal legislation. Several cases which may test the constitutionality of important Roosevelt legislation are before the court. If these cases come up, as they well may, in such a way as to oblige the justices to pass on the constitutionality of the acts in question, the court

will have the last word upon laws which are vital to the New Deal recovery program. For that reason there is much speculation as to how the different justices may vote on questions of constitutionality. Speculation centers on the probable attitude of the chief justice.

Charles Evans Hughes was long regarded as a liberal or progressive. He became nationally famous as governor of New York, and in that position he stood for much so-called reform legislation. Two of his most noteworthy attacks were directed against race track gambling and the practices of insurance companies. He was appointed as associate justice of the United States Supreme Court by President Taft. He resigned in 1916 to become the Republican candidate for the presidency against Woodrow Wilson. He was defeated and turned to the practice of law—and a very lucrative practice it was.

When President Harding came into office, he placed Mr. Hughes at the head of his cabinet. By that time Mr. Hughes was generally considered a conservative. He had great corporations among his clients and was looked upon as a "Wall Street lawyer." As secretary of state he conducted the foreign relations, but was not called upon to express himself on matters of domestic politics. He resigned the secretaryship of state and was later appointed chief justice of the Supreme Court. He is the first man ever to have become a member of this court the second time.

When Mr. Hughes was appointed by President Hoover to the chief justiceship, upon the death of Chief Justice Taft, the confirmation of his nomination was fought by the progressives. A number of his decisions, however, have indicated a distinctly liberal or progressive leaning. On several occasions he has indicated a tendency to interpret the Constitution very liberally—in such a way as to give approval to acts of Congress which under a strict interpretation might have been declared unconstitutional. Many people are wondering whether he will apply that philosophy to the New Deal legislation and vote to sustain it as constitutional.

Mr. Hughes looks the part of a chief justice. His bearing is stately, his manner dignified, he is an eloquent and convincing speaker. He is, however, a detached sort of person who has difficulty in winning public enthusiasm and support.

♦ ♦ ♦

Laval Comes Back — Three years ago the name Pierre Laval was well known in the United States. In the fall of 1931, Laval at that time premier of France, came to Washington to discuss international relations with President Hoover. Not much of importance came out of the conversations, but Laval made many American

friends. Shortly thereafter his cabinet fell and while he remained a power in French politics, he no longer occupied a high place in international diplomatic discussions.

Now M. Laval is back in world politics. When Louis Barthou lost his life at the hands of an assassin, Premier Doumergue called to the foreign ministry Pierre Laval. This man, who again holds a dominating position in Europe, is the son of an innkeeper in the south of France. He is small of stature, swarthy of complexion, with dark brown hair and warm brown eyes. If he possesses the flashing French intelligence, he tempers it with a calm ability to weigh facts and conditions. He never jumps to decisions, but is always capable, when the time comes, of making them. His career has been one of hard struggle, studying his Latin while driving the hotel carriage, working his way to a diploma in law, gaining an entry to the Chamber of Deputies, then to the Senate, until suddenly he was lifted from the political background and made the most powerful figure in the country, the youngest premier in the history of France, at 48 years of age.

♦ ♦ ♦

A True Scientist — Albert Einstein is a profound thinker; probably one of the most intellectually gifted of living men. He has been compared with Galileo and Newton. Bernard Shaw has spoken of him as a rare genius such as the world sees but once every few centuries. But his writings are beyond the understanding of

ordinary readers. Only specialists in higher mathematics comprehend his theory of relativity. Even his more popular productions, like his new book, "The World as I See It," are only for the more advanced readers. What, then, has he to offer to ordinary persons? His works, of course, help to make up a body of knowledge which can be used by scholars and brought, in simplified form, to others. But what more direct contribution does Einstein make to the masses?

One very valuable contribution he makes—one of personality and example. He has a tolerant spirit. He is personally modest and unassuming. He hates pretense. He is willing to listen to opposing views. "He is a living disproof," says Joseph Wood Krutch in the *New York Herald-Tribune*, "of the common assertion that rancor is inescapable for any person really passionately concerned with a cause." By standing stoutly for principles while at the same time maintaining what Krutch calls "a tenderness of conscience and an unwavering gentleness," Einstein exhibits the spirit, as well as the works, of a true scientist.

♦ ♦ ♦

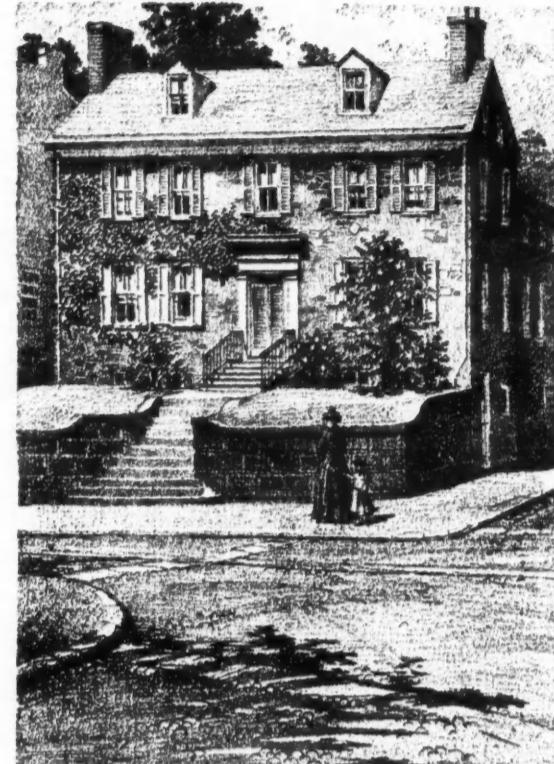
A Political Idealist — Secretary of State Cordell Hull, formerly United States senator from Tennessee, is an idealist. For a long time he has been toying with an ideal—the establishment of better trade relations with other nations. He accepted the secretaryship of state with the thought that he could use that office to further the cause closest to his heart. It has seemed that the chances of success were very slight, so stubborn are all the governments in holding to policies of narrow nationalism; so determined in policies of narrow nationalism; so determined in the maintenance of high tariff walls. But now there seems to be hope that Secretary Hull may really open several important avenues of trade through the negotiation of tariff treaties with foreign powers.

Cordell Hull was born on a Tennessee farm 62 years ago. When he was a boy he rafted logs down the Cumberland River. He studied law, entered politics quite early, was a member of the legislature, interrupted his career to serve as captain in the Spanish-American War, became a district judge, went to the House of Representatives, then to the Senate.

Mr. Hull is tall and slender, with a straight figure and gray hair. He is a man of dignity and fine bearing. He is a wide reader, a competent thinker, but a miserably poor speaker. His voice is pitched high, his addresses are dry as dust and badly delivered. But the secretary is a man of unimpeachable honor, a thorough gentleman, a respected political leader.

♦ ♦ ♦

Consumers' Counsel — In a corner of the big new Department of Agriculture building in Washington, 42 willing and enthusiastic government workers are proud of the part they are playing in



OLD HOUSE IN WILMINGTON, DELAWARE

Illustration from "The Age of Confidence."

saving money for their fellow consumers. They are members of the Consumers' Counsel section of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the bureau which was created to protect consumers against unwarranted price rises. The goal of the AAA, of course, has been to raise farm prices, but it has been anxious to protect the buying public against profiteers.

The head of this bureau is Dr. Frederick C. Howe, a man who has had considerable experience as a reformer and a fighter of profiteers. As a young lawyer just out of school he assisted in the "clean-up" of the city government of Cleveland, one of the biggest reforms ever effected in a municipal government. He has written and lectured and labored in support of progressive policies.

We Recommend —

Tents in Mongolia. By Henning Haslund. New York: E. P. Dutton. \$5.

An adventure story relating the experiences of a party of Danes who had plenty of excitement among the nomads of central Asia. The little party engaged in the selling of furs in a small place on the border of Mongolia. They carried on this work with many a thrilling adventure until they came into conflict with the Soviet authorities and brought the expedition to an end.

The Age of Confidence. By Henry Seidel Canby. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50.

A well-known literary critic writes of life in the United States during the 1890's. The book is descriptive and philosophical in nature and has distinct historical value, since it sets forth characteristics of an interesting and important period in American history.

American State Government and Administration. By Austin F. Macdonald. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. \$3.75.

A complete and authoritative analysis of the machinery and functions of state government. One of the best works in the field. Especially useful just now because of the deplorable neglect of state problems.

Urban Society. By Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. \$3.50.

Another volume in the Crowell "Social Science Series." A sociological study of city life and problems by competent sociologists.



ALBERT EINSTEIN

Caricature by Massaguer from "Social."

The Conservatives Explain Themselves

(Concluded from page 1, column 1)

There are times when the wealthy and powerful act in such a way as to deny opportunity to the poor, but these injustices and inequalities can be ironed out. Most of them can be prevented without changing drastically either our laws or our business practices. Things are fundamentally all right. The American people have been the happiest and most successful people in the world and they can regain their former good fortune as they have done in the past after serious depressions.

"Not only do we have a good economic system here," our conservative friend may tell us, "but we have a good political system. The American people are free. The government does not oppress them. The well-intentioned citizen can go about his work day in and day out without feeling cramped by governmental restrictions. We may think very little about this freedom which we enjoy; we may take it as a matter of course just as we take the air we breathe. We should remember, however, that this boon of liberty which we enjoy is a rare thing in human experience. If we look back across the pages of history we find that until comparatively recently the almost universal situation was one in which the individual was subservient to the state or to some form of political dictation. Until political liberty was wrested by the English people from reluctant monarchs a few brief centuries ago, individual liberty had been little known among the peoples of the earth. We in America have enjoyed the heritage of freedom from governmental interference. During the nineteenth century and the early twentieth, the principle that individuals should be free made great gains everywhere, but lately these gains have been lost, until among most of the people in the world today, individuals are restrained by governments in their daily occupations.

A Threat of Liberty

"The real liberties of people have sometimes been threatened and lost because they have been dominated, not by governments, but by powerful individuals or corporations. That has happened even in the United States. We should be very careful, however, in combating these industrial evils, that we do not enlarge the powers of government so that the government itself may become a tyrant as it has usually been in the past, and as it is today in Italy and Germany and Russia and Spain and Japan and most other nations."

The imaginary conservative whom we have been quoting, if he is a typical conservative, would probably continue to the effect that this system of individual liberty, so precious and so rare, is being threatened today in the United States. He would perhaps argue in this fashion: "Under the Roosevelt administration steps have been taken which, if continued, are likely to destroy our liberties and cause us to be subjected to cramping governmental restraints. The National Recovery Act imposes restrictions upon business. Every industry is obliged to operate under a code, which contains rules about wages, hours of labor, and, in some cases, restricts production and fixes prices. Under the Agricultural Adjustment Administration farmers are induced to sign away their right to handle their farms as they see fit. They allow agents of the government to tell them how much they can raise. Through its monetary policy the government is interfering in behalf of certain classes of the population. It is trying to change price levels so as to help debtors at the expense of creditors. It is thus making itself responsible for the distribution of wealth. Furthermore, there has been a tremendous increase in the power of the executive. Orders having the force of law are now made by the president; orders fixing hours of labor in industry and in other ways vitally affecting the lives of the American people."

Such is the general argument of conserva-

tives. This point of view is voiced forcefully by former President Herbert Hoover in his new book "The Challenge to Liberty." Mr. Hoover argues that the present tendency is away from the traditional American system and in the direction of Fascism. The Italian Fascists believe in maintaining capitalism and the profit system, but business men operate under rigid control by the government. They are obliged to form corporations—a system not far different from that under which American industry

the effect that recovery may best be assured by following the conservative methods. One of the ablest economic arguments against the Roosevelt recovery program and in favor of a more conservative plan has been made by Leonard P. Ayres, vice president of the Cleveland Trust Company, in his book published a year ago under the title, "The Economics of Recovery."

Mr. Ayres says that recovery was well under way long before Mr. Roosevelt came to the presidency. Production started to

duction and to enlarge their plants. They are able to add to their equipment because they find it easy to borrow money. The banks are willing to lend to anyone who is making money. The business men are cautious for a while and do not add to their labor forces, but after they have had a period of good profits and increasing business they employ more men. The competition for workers causes wages to rise. This in turn adds to the purchasing power of the people and still more goods are demanded and consumed. Production in turn is further stimulated and so we find ourselves on an ascending circle. Just as in times of depression everything seems to conspire to push business further down, so in times of recovery, if the government keeps its hands off, everything soon is conspiring to push business upward.

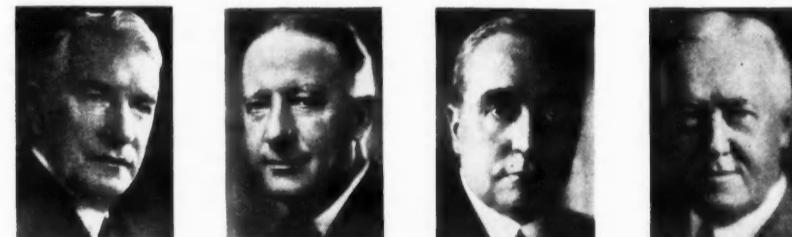
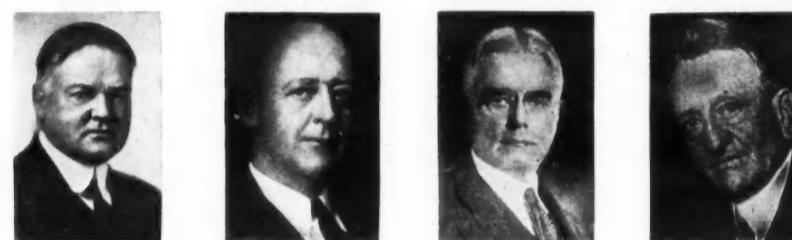
That is the orthodox or conservative method of recovery and it is the one the conservatives say should have been adopted last year and should be continued this year. The conservatives show wherein the Roosevelt administration has broken away from such a program. It undertook to reverse the process. When production started upward, the Roosevelt administration said in effect, "We will now hasten this process by increasing purchasing power. We will force wages up so that the people can buy more. This will add to the demand for goods, it will stimulate production which in turn will stimulate employment, and after a while we will all be moving upward."

The trouble is, according to the conservatives, that when the Roosevelt administration, by establishing the NRA and by forcing labor costs up, added to the expenses of production; they made it impossible for manufacturers to make satisfactory profits. The manufacturers, therefore, did not enlarge their plants, they did not call for loans, and the banks would not have given them the money if they had, because profits were absent. The result is that the capital goods industries, the ones which build new equipment and which furnish construction materials, are still inactive. Recovery has been checked because of an unwise interference by the government with industry. That is the essence of the conservative argument against the economics of the New Deal.

The Conservative Forces

But who are these conservatives who take the position we have just outlined? We find conservatives among all classes of the population, old and young, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, industrialists, farmers and laborers. But conservatism is stronger among the older people than among the young, among the well-to-do than among the poor. Probably most business men; that is, business men of the higher levels; those, let us say, who belong to chambers of commerce, are conservatives. So are most lawyers and certain other professional classes. So are many of the poorer classes, who follow the leadership of those we have named. Some are conservative because it is to their interest to further conservative policies, others because of intellectual conviction, still others because of the force of tradition or because of their natural temperament.

No political party has a monopoly on conservatism. Old line Republicans such as former President Hoover, Ogden Mills, Representative Wadsworth, National Chairman Fletcher, are conservatives, while such Republicans as Senators Norris, Cutting and Nye are not. In the Republican party the conservatives appear, at present, to be in the majority. In the Democratic party the situation is probably reversed. The majority probably follow the liberal leadership of President Roosevelt, but many Democrats such as Alfred E. Smith, John W. Davis, Carter Glass, and Governor Ritchie would surely be classed as conservatives.



THE CONSERVATIVES AND THEIR VIEW OF THE NEW DEAL

Top row, left to right: Herbert Hoover (H. & E.); James W. Wadsworth (H. & E.); Albert C. Ritchie (Martin); Carter Glass (Martin). Bottom row: Henry P. Fletcher (H. & E.); Alfred E. Smith (H. & E.); Ogden L. Mills (H. & E.); John W. Davis (U. & U.). Cartoon from the Columbus Dispatch.

now operates under the codes. The rules are dictated by the government much as our codes are thus dictated. The Italian government regulates agriculture and controls production just as our government undertakes to do through the AAA. The former president argues that a rigid control of the industrial life of the nation can be effectively carried out only through dictatorship, and that we are going in that direction.

Such are the political arguments which are commonly advanced by the conservatives in support of the traditional American system and traditional American business practices. Such are the political arguments voiced by the conservatives against the New Deal program. Equally impressive are the economic arguments—arguments to

increase in the summer of 1932. The recovery movement was interrupted in the late winter and early spring of 1933 by the banking crisis, then it was resumed again. Production was increasing in the United States as it was in practically all the industrial nations. This was an indication of recovery. Usually periods of depression come to an end in this way: Production starts to increase, as it eventually must after shelves everywhere are empty and there are no longer enough goods to supply even the weakened demand which is present during the depression. Wages by this time are low and other production costs are at a low point. Manufacturers therefore make good profits when production starts up. Since they are making profits they feel impelled further to increase pro-

Assassin's Bullet Upsets European Balance

(Concluded from page 1, column 4)



—Courtesy New York Times

YUGOSLAVIA
The arrow points to Marseilles where Alexander was killed.

So much of Yugoslav politics was Alexander himself that his influence could not be suddenly withdrawn without threatening a violent upheaval. Alexander not only reigned—he ruled. His was perhaps the most absolute dictatorship in the whole world. Like Louis XIV of France, the most minute details passed through his hands. Every public official, down to local officers, and even teachers in the schools, were selected by him personally or by his agents. The papers printed not a word that did not have his approval. No political party, save his own, dared hold a meeting. The universities, the police, the army, sports; in a word, every phase of human life in Yugoslavia was held firmly under his thumb.

Of the Old School

Nor were Alexander's views those of an enlightened ruler. Torn away from his native Balkans at a tender age to be reared at the court of the Russian czars, he was fully imbued with the military and despotic traditions of the Russians. Seldom was he seen in anything but military attire, and he never missed an occasion to rattle the sword or crack the whip at those who stood in his way. He was Machiavellian in the methods he used to reach his goal—which goal was the establishment of a united Yugoslav kingdom.

Though he was made king in 1921 and had acted as regent for a number of years prior to his coronation, Alexander began to rule Yugoslavia in 1929. On the morning of January 6 of that year, millions of Yugoslavs were amazed to read posters in the streets signed and sealed by Alexander himself, announcing that parliamentary government was at an end and that the king himself would rule. "The hour has come when there must no longer be any intermediary between the people and the king," read the royal decree, which had been promulgated at three o'clock that morning. The dictatorship began.

As a matter of fact, the hour to do something had long since struck, for when Alexander took matters into his own hands, the country had been reduced almost to political anarchy. Compromise among the opposing political parties was no longer possible. In a little more than two years there had been nine cabinets overturned, and it was virtually impossible to win sufficient support to keep any cabinet in power. To understand why such internal political turmoil existed, one must look at the beginnings of the country known as Yugoslavia or the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

The latter name explains a

size of Colorado. Here was a grand mixture of races, differing in cultural, religious, economic and political background. Eighty-three per cent of the population, however, is made up of the three races—Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

The present population of Yugoslavia is divided about as follows among the different races: 7,000,000 Serbs, 2,500,000 Croats, 1,000,000 Slovenes, 500,000 Macedonian Slavs, and about a half-million each of Albanians, Magyars and Germans. Here are all the elements for a good political conflict, and that is just what has been going on in Yugoslavia ever since the country was founded. From the very beginning there has been a struggle for power between the Serbs and the minority groups. The Serbs have constantly demanded a strong central government in which, naturally, they would exert the greatest control. Their idea has been to make Yugoslavia a greater Serbia. The other races have been persistently opposed to a strong central government, insisting that each province be given a large amount of self-government, holding this to be the only way they could protect their rights.

Crisis Follows Crisis

Things gradually went from bad to worse. The Croats and Slovenes chafed under the domination of the Serbs, who held most of the important government offices and largely controlled the parliament. These two minority groups have always contended that they entered the federation with the understanding that their independence would be safeguarded and their rights protected. When they

saw the Serbs rising to such power they were bitterly resentful. A climax was reached June 20, 1928, in the parliament in Belgrade. A Serb fanatic rose and fired six shots in the direction of the Croat members of the parliament. Two of the deputies were immediately killed, and the leader of the Croats, Stefan Raditch, revered by his race, was mortally wounded, his death occurring early in August. All the Croats withdrew from the hall, swearing they would never return to parliament until the constitution was revised so as to eliminate Serb domination of Yugoslav politics.

The immediate cause of this tragedy, which led to Alexander's establishment of the dictatorship six months later, was a dispute over ratification of a series of commercial treaties with Italy. The party in power, dominated by the Serbs, urged parliament to ratify the treaties in order to improve relations with Italy, which had been at the breaking point for a number of years. The Croats and Slovenes were particularly opposed to the treaties because they granted trade concessions to the Italians. But Italy said that she would not sign a treaty of friendship with Yugoslavia until these commercial pacts were ratified by the parliament in Belgrade, and the Yugoslav government felt it was worth the price to gain Italian favor. So great was the opposition to these treaties that anti-Italian demonstrations broke out in various parts of the country and before the June 20 tragedy the parliament had to be adjourned for a week because the debates had become so heated.

Relations with Italy

When Alexander established his dictatorship in 1929, relations with Italy were about as bad as they had ever been. Anti-Italian feeling ran high throughout the kingdom. The Yugoslavs felt that Italy was trying to gain control of all the Balkans. She had already established herself firmly in control of Albania's affairs, and she had made considerable headway with Hungary and Austria. Moreover, Italy had been high-handed in her dealings with Yugoslavia, having taken Fiume from her shortly after the war. Yugoslavia was indeed afraid that Italy was seeking to control the entire Dalmatian coast.

Nor have relations with Fascist Italy improved much since Alexander took the helm. Demonstrations against the Italians continued. The Yugoslav press insulted the Italians whenever it could find the occasion and the occasion was never missing. Hostility became so great that Mussolini early this month issued a sound note of warning to the Yugoslavs. And it should

be remembered that only a few months earlier, Alexander himself had warned the Italians to keep their hands off Austria if they wanted to avoid trouble.

It was in the midst of this tense atmosphere that the Yugoslav monarch departed for France to confer with Louis Barthou. Only a few months earlier Barthou had paid a visit to Belgrade in an attempt to cement the friendship of the two countries and to make sure that Yugoslavia would continue to support the French instead of turning its attention to the Germans. The object of the king's visit to Marseilles was to work out a solution for the problem of Italian-Yugoslav relations, which did indeed menace the peace of Europe.

Barthou apparently hoped to persuade Alexander to bury the hatchet with Italy and settle all the difficulties between the two countries. That was an essential part of Barthou's program for European peace because he himself had gone a long way toward ironing out the many differences which had disturbed Franco-Italian relations since the war. What the French said naturally had a great deal of weight with the Yugoslavs, for the two countries have been allied for more than a decade. And Alexander's dying words are reported to have been, "Preserve Franco-Yugoslav friendship."

Uncertainty Ahead

With Alexander removed from the scene, no one knows just what may happen in the Balkans and throughout Europe. A new king has been crowned monarch, Peter, the 11-year-old son of the dead ruler. The nation has been placed under the actual command of a council of regency to act in the stead of the young king until he reaches the age of 18. The three members of the regency council are all inexperienced in politics. They are relatively unknown and obscure personalities. Certainly they will have a hard time to accomplish that which Alexander, with all his power and prestige, was unable to do—namely, to unify the discordant elements of the Yugoslav population. Still too stunned by the Marseilles tragedy, the Yugoslav citizens have not had time to get their bearings and to look to the future. It is not at all impossible that the Croats and Slovenes may seize the present state of confusion as the occasion to press their demands for equality, even independence, in the hope of realizing their decade-old dreams.

Nor are the prospects in the foreign field any brighter. All Yugoslavia's dealings with the other nations of Europe were personally directed by Alexander. It will be in the international arena that the tragedy will be doubly felt, for M. Barthou had come to be one of the most influential of all European diplomats.

It is, of course, possible that another will step into Barthou's shoes and carry on the work he has already begun. It may be that the new government in Belgrade will be equal to the task of carrying the burden which rested solely on Alexander's shoulders. On the other hand, the opposite may be the case. Political confusion at home and political uncertainty throughout Europe may be the chief result of the double slaying.



A SCENE IN CARNIOLA, YUGOSLAVIA

Illustration from "The Native's Return," by Louis Adamic. (Harpers).



ALEXANDER I



SOCIAL SCIENCE BACKGROUNDS

MARYLAND is this year celebrating its 300th anniversary. It was sometime in the year 1634—no one knows the exact day or the exact month—that representatives of the second Lord Baltimore, Cecil Calvert, arrived

The Maryland Tercentenary celebration

in the vicinity of Chesapeake Bay to establish what is known as a proprietary colony. The first Lord Baltimore, Sir George Calvert, father of Cecil, had received from King Charles I a charter which would have made him virtual king of the vast expanse of territory in the region of the Potomac. But Sir George died in 1632 and the royal parchment, duly signed by the British sovereign, passed to his son, Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore. Because of his business in England, Cecil was unable to plant the colony personally, but appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, governor and lieutenant-general of Maryland.

In the year 1934 these early events in American history are being properly commemorated by the people of Maryland. The usual display of fireworks, the accustomed flood of oratory, all the fanfare accompanying centennial, bicentennial, and more rarely tricentennial anniversaries form an integral part of the Maryland Tercentenary. The mint in Washington has put out a special half-dollar piece for the occasion, and the Post Office Department is running off a new series of "Maryland Tercentenary" three-cent stamps. In a word, the celebration is running true to the conventional form of such celebrations.

DETAILS of the Maryland period of feasting and rejoicing and trumpet-blowing are meaningless to people outside the state unless they call attention to something which has truly influenced the history of the entire country. In one respect, at least, the early history of Maryland does have permanent significance to Americans everywhere. Maryland was the first of the colonies to provide, by formal decree, for religious freedom within its borders. Maryland has been called "the Cradle of Religious Freedom," by virtue of the Act of Toleration passed by the Maryland Assembly in the year 1649. The real name of that famous act, according to the early records of the state's history, was an "Act Concerning Religion."

TODAY there exists more fiction than truth in the minds of most people concerning the real nature of this religious edict of 1649. Myth has it that the so-called "Act of Toleration" established complete religious freedom in the Maryland colony. An examination of the act itself reveals that it did no such thing. Any person professing a Christian belief, according to the terms of the

act, was not to be molested in the exercise of his religion. But, on the other hand, it provided for the imposition of the death sentence, together with the confiscation of all worldly goods, upon anyone who "shall deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to be the son of God or shall deny the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, or the Godhead of any of the said Three Persons of the Trinity, or the Unity of the Godhead, or shall use or utter any reproachful speeches, words, or language concerning the Holy Trinity or any of the said Three Persons thereof."

With election day coming next week, New York gamblers are betting even money that Cleveland will defeat Blaine for the presidency. The Blaine campaign fund has taken heavy toll in government offices. Says the New York World, "If this campaign were to last three months longer every clerk in Washington would be bankrupted."

At a meeting of clergymen in New York, the Reverend Burchard said, "We are Republicans, and don't propose to leave our party and identify ourselves with any party whose antecedents have been rum, Romanism and rebellion." Democratic newspapers are making much of this statement, and some people think the resentment aroused may cost Blaine the election.

Business is far from prosperous. Every day the newspapers tell of more business failures.

Patent Office examiners have announced another decision in the contest over the invention of the speaking telephone. At the time Alexander Graham Bell received his patents, a number of other inventors, including Thomas A. Edison, had filed applications for patents on almost identical devices. This latest decision establishes the fact that Bell was the first to produce a workable receiver and transmitter. Edison receives credit for a minor technical improvement.

A French army is fighting the Chinese in the province of Tonquin over the collection of a large debt. The inability of the Chinese to pay is so well known

Toleration Act and Religious Freedom

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

The Toleration Act provided further for the imposition of severe penalties, including fines and whippings, for disobedience of religious practices. All who "profane the Sabbath or Lord's day called Sunday by frequent swearing, drunkenness, or by any uncivil or disorderly recreation or by working on that day when absolute necessity doth not require" were to be fined and whipped. Intolerant as this may seem today, it should be remembered that the psychology of the seventeenth century, here as abroad, was quite other than that of the twentieth. None of the colonies were particularly renowned for their religious toleration, judged by present-day standards. In the North, the Puritans were ruthless in their opposition to those who held contrary beliefs. Compared with the prevailing religious ethics of the day, the Maryland Act of 1649 was a great step forward.

BUt the Toleration Act did not provide complete freedom of worship and religious belief. As one writer has put it, "Tom Paine could have been legally hanged in early Maryland under the terms of this act. Even the

Penalties imposed by the Act of Toleration

for Buddhists and others professing non-Christian religions, and even for those whose conception of Christian belief and worship did not fit into the pattern outlined by the Act of Toleration.

Peculiar circumstances attended the founding and settlement of the colony of Maryland. The Calverts themselves adhered to the Catholic religion, and doubtless in the minds of Sir George and his sons there existed a desire to establish in the new land a refuge for those of their faith. It is a matter of historical dispute whether the original settlers were predominantly Catholic or predominantly Protestant. Certain it is, however, that there was a goodly number of both religious elements on the *Ark* and the *Dove*, the ships which brought the Calvert expedition to American shores. In order that this mixture of individuals with opposing religious beliefs might get along at all well together, it was almost necessary that Maryland be dominated by neither creed. And that was essentially what the Toleration Act accomplished.

This was a definite departure from the traditions held in the seventeenth century. The governments of practically all the countries of Europe were either Catholic or Protestant, and there was no compromise possible between the two. In one country, Catholics were, if we may use a modern term, "liquidated." In another, Protestants met a like fate. In no country were the nonconformists of the accepted state religion regarded with anything but the utmost scorn. Thus, the Toleration Act was revolutionary in nature, undoubtedly regarded as heresy at the time of its enactment.

Glimpses of the Past

Fifty Years Ago This Week

that many people suppose France is making the debt a pretext for seizing some land in China to add to her colonial empire. French forces in Madagascar are not making much headway against the natives at present.

Word comes from Europe that explosives factories there are turning out in large quantities the new dynamite recently invented by Alfred Nobel, the Swedish chemist. The new blasting material is at least 50 per cent more powerful than the old dynamite still being used in this country.

Although they happened 20 years ago, incidents of the Civil War are still popular reading in all the Sunday editions of the newspapers. General Grant is now writing his autobiography, and Major McClellan, General J. E. B. Stuart's chief of staff, is writing an account of the cavalry campaigns of the Army of Northern Virginia, one of the strongest of the Confederate units.

A rate war is in progress among the railroads of the East. The Baltimore and Ohio and the Pennsylvania line are fighting for the western traffic, while a number of smaller railroads are slashing rates in an effort to win more of the local business.

Queen Victoria has called a special session of Parliament. Prime Minister Gladstone is trying to push through the "franchise bill" which would extend the right to vote to a great many more Englishmen.

NOR was the religious liberty, incomplete though it was, to become a permanent policy in Maryland. Some 40 years later, in 1688, when James II was deposed by the "Glorious Revolution," bringing William and Mary to the throne, the protection extended by the Toleration Act was rescinded. The Anglicans were once more firmly in the saddle in England, and, though

they were lenient to religious dissenters among the Protestant sects, they remained adamant in their opposition to Catholics. The effect of these repressive measures was felt in Maryland. Catholic worship was outlawed in the colony and all Catholics were disfranchised.

So much for the famous Act of Toleration of 1649 and the early history of that colony. What about the present? Has that early tradition of toleration been carried forward? Has the ideal of religious liberty set forth in the first section of the Bill of Rights been fully realized? Not entirely. Progress has been made, to be sure. But full religious freedom does not exist even today. In speaking of the extent to which the ideal has been realized, Gerald W. Johnson, writing in the July *Harper's*, declares:

If a Buddhist or a Mohammedan wishes to marry in Maryland in 1934 he must have it done by a Christian minister using a Christian rite, or by a Jewish rabbi with the Jewish rite. He cannot have it done by a civil officer employing a purely legalistic formula, much less by a priest of his own religion. Atheists to this day are debarred from jury service. . . .

A number of attempts have been made to put through the Maryland legislature a civil marriage law, making it possible for those holding nonconformist religious beliefs to enjoy the same privileges as others without renouncing their views. Until now, however, all such efforts have been vain.

NOT only Maryland, but all the states of the Union have made marked strides in establishing religious freedom. Today in no state can an individual be hauled before the courts and punished for his religious beliefs, or

for his lack of belief, for that matter. To that extent there is complete religious freedom. But there are, in a good many places, certain religious taboos which have

been incorporated into civil law. We find, for example, that observance of Sunday as the Sabbath is in some states compelled by law, even though religious bodies, like the Seventh-day Adventists, have set aside Saturday as a day of worship and rest. If these minority groups proceed with their normal activities on Sunday, they may be punished by civil law for what is, in reality, an infraction of a religious tradition. To the extent that such laws exist, full religious freedom does not exist.

Viewed in the light of history, the Toleration Act of 1649 has permanent significance, for it set forth ideals which have not only been realized throughout the country but which have even been expanded. Moreover, the act broke a tradition which has caused decades and decades of hatreds and bloodshed. It was a truly American ideal in that it laid down the principles that no church should rule the state and that all Christians should be granted equal privileges before the law.